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THE ROUMANIANS AND
THEIR LANDS

EDITED BY PROFESSOR VASILE STOICA

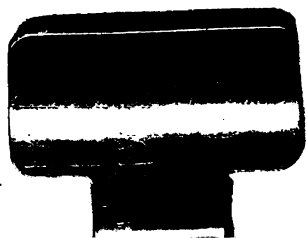
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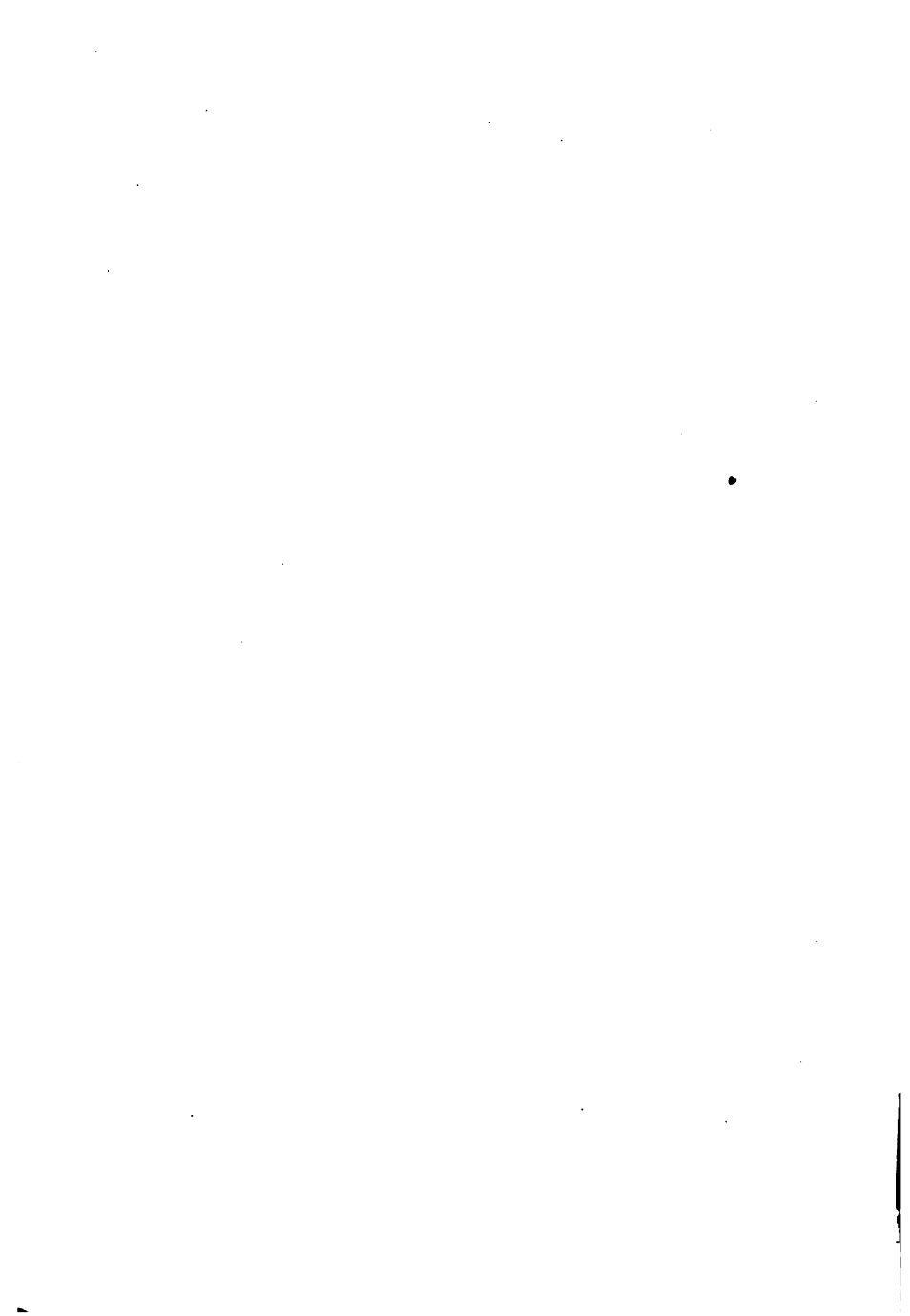
I.

THE
ROUMANIAN
QUESTION

GEORGE JULIAN ZOLWAY 1919



THE
ROUMANIAN QUESTION



THE ROUMANIANS AND THEIR LANDS

Edited by **PROFESSOR VASILE STOICA**

I.

THE ROUMANIAN QUESTION

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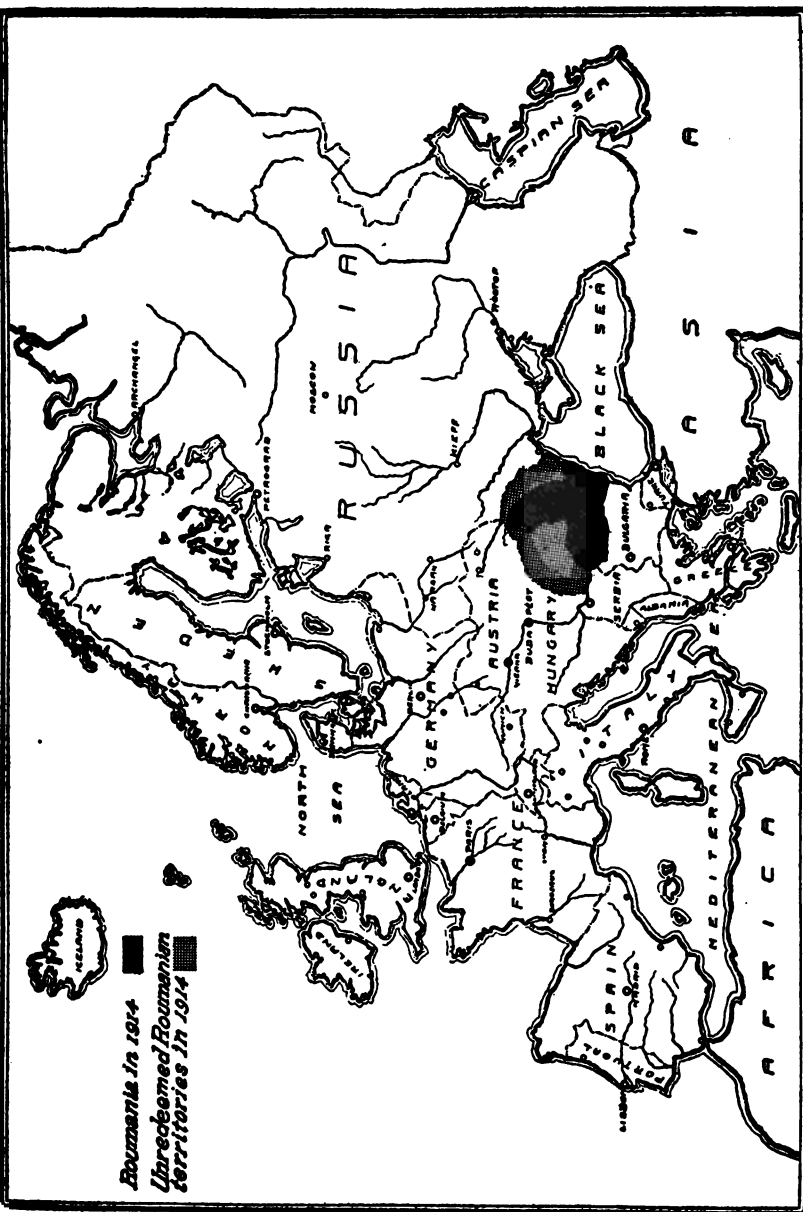
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CONTENTS

	Page
THE ROUMANIAN QUESTION	7
I	
THE ROUMANIAN TERRITORY AND THE ROUMANIAN PEOPLE	7
II	
ORIGIN AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY	8
III	
ROUMANIA: WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA	11
IV	
TRANSYLVANIA AND THE BANAT	16
V	
BUCOVINA	23
VI	
BESSARABIA	25
VII	
THE DAWN	27
VIII	
THE FINAL SETTLEMENT	31



Romania in 1914
Unredeemed Romanian territories in 1914



THE ROUMANIANS AND THEIR LANDS

I

THE ROUMANIAN QUESTION

I. The Roumanian Territory and the Roumanian People.

The Roumanian race inhabits today absolutely the same territory that was inhabited at the time of Christ by the Dacians. It occupies the whole area of the former Roman province of Dacia and it numbers about 15,000,000 people. The Roumanian countries of today are:

1. The pre-war Roumanian Kingdom, between the Carpathians, the Prut, the Danube River and the Black Sea. An area of 53,668 square miles with a population of 8,000,000 of whom 7,500,000 are Roumanians.

2. Transylvania, the Adjoining Counties and the Banat, provinces occupied until November 1918 by Hungary,—between the Carpathians, the Tisa (Theiss) and the Danube; an area of 46,332 square miles, with 5,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 3,800,000 are Roumanians.

3. Bucovina, taken away from Roumania (Moldavia) by Austria in 1775,—between the Carpathians, the Czeremosz, the Dniester and the North-Western border of the Roumanian Kingdom previous to 1914; an area of 4,028 square miles with over 300,000 Roumanians.

4. Bessarabia, taken away by the Russians from Roumania (Moldavia) in 1812,—between the Prut, the Dniester Rivers and the Black Sea, an area of 17,000 square miles, with a population of 3,000,000, of whom over 2,000,000 Roumanians. About 600,000 Roumanians are scattered in the Ukraine between the Dniester and Bug Rivers.

5. The Danube-Timok-Morava angle in North-Eastern Serbia; an area of 2,500 square miles with a Roumanian population of about 274,000.

(6) Macedonia and Thessaly where the Macedonian branch of the Roumanians, scattered over a wide area numbers about 500,000 inhabitants.

II. Origin and Medieval History.

The language of the Roumanians is of Latin origin, a sister language of the Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese languages; especially it is very closely related to the Italian. The Roumanian nation itself is the result of the powerful Roman colonization in Dacia. The Dacians were conquered between 101 and 105 A. D. by the Roman Emperor Trajan, who re-peopled the country by bringing Roman colonists from Italy

and from other parts of the Roman Empire. It is from the fusion of these Roman colonists and the Dacian population that the Roumanian nation was born. Until 271 A. D. the Roman province of Dacia Trajana enjoyed great prosperity. Its population built up important cities and, what is more important, romanized completely all the indigenous elements and implanted on the barbarous Dacian soil the powerful Latin civilization. But barbarian hordes were invading the borders of the Roman Empire, and in 271 A. D. the Emperor Aurelian retired the Roman legions across the Danube into the province of Moesia. The Romanized population of Dacia sought refuge from the plains into the Carpathians difficult of access, into the present Transylvania which formed the center of the province. Between 271 and 896 A. D. barbarian nations were flowing southward and westward on the plains of the Danube. But the Roman population stood firmly in its fortress of Transylvania. It was like a rock in the middle of a great river, the waters of which are flowing downward sweeping away everything. At the end of the ninth century came the last barbarian race, the Hungarians. They crossed the North-Eastern Carpathians and occupied the whole plain between the Theiss and the Danube Rivers, and between the years 1000 and 1300 penetrated even into Transylvania. But Transylvania, the center of Dacia, the mountain fortress of the Roman population, was organized into little

duchies which resisted for a long time the strong military organization of the Hungarian invaders. The Hungarian Kings were forced to give to this country a special organization making it absolutely autonomous on the basis of its own rules and laws, and were forced to be contented only with a nominal sovereignty. Transylvania was governed by a prince—Voivod,—with the help of the nobility composed of Roumanians and of a few Hungarian guards, the so-called “Szeklers”. The Hungarian Kings brought in later also German colonists; these are the so called ‘Saxons’ of Transylvania, whose name however has nothing to do with the Anglo-Saxons. Little by little Hungarian nobility penetrated into the country and started a strong oppression against the Roumanian inhabitants, conquered the Roumanian nobility entirely and transformed almost the whole Roumanian population into a class of serfs. In 1437 the Hungarians, the Saxons and the Szeklers made a strong Union,—“Unio trium nationum”—to keep the Roumanians under their yoke. A part of the Roumanian nobility of Transylvania in the XIIIth century and at the beginning of the XIVth suffering continuously from Hungarian persecution, left the country and organized on the other side of the Carpathians the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, of which Roumania was formed in 1859. Thus the cradle of the Roumanian nation are not the plains of Roumania previous to the Great War, but the mountain fortress of Transylvania.

III. Roumania: Wallachia & Moldavia.

The two Roumanian Principalities developed very quickly. Unfortunately the Turkish invasions beginning in the Balkan Peninsula at the end of the XIVth century prevented them from taking creative part in the great cultural development of Europe under the influence of the Renaissance. The Roumanians for four centuries were the guardians of the West against Turkish and Tartar destruction as their ancestors the first Roman colonists stood against the flood of the IInd and IIIrd centuries.

Wallachia under the rule of **Mirtcha the Old**, (1386-1418) was not only well organized but even a considerable military power. Mirtcha fought with the Serbians in the great battle of Kosovo in 1389, where Serbian freedom was crushed for more than four centuries; but even after the unfortunate battle he was able to keep intact the independence of his country. In 1394 at Rovine Mirtcha defeated alone the armies of Bayazed Ilderim, and only after the great armies of the Christian Nations' Alliance under the Emperor Sigismund were crushed at Nicopoli in 1396 he consented to enter negotiations with the Turks, preserving still the independence of Wallachia. Mirtcha also defeated the Byzantine vassal Dobrotitch and conquered the Dobrudja of today, taking afterwards the title of "Prince of Wallachia and Lord of Silistra and of the Land to the Great Sea".

Moldavia organized first by **Prince Bogdan** (1359-1365) who won her independence at the end of the XIVth century. In 1392 she extended East to the Dniester River and to the Black Sea, and her ruler **Roman Mushat** (1391-1394) called himself "Prince of Moldavia, from the Carpathian Mountains to the Sea." The great organizer of the country however was **Alexander the Good**, (1400-1433) under whose leadership Moldavia established closer relations with Poland and with Western civilization.

The Turks curbed soon the resistance of Wallachia and threatened to invade Moldavia and then to turn with all their might to the West. Fortunately for Moldavia on her throne at this time sat a man who is considered not only one of the greatest Roumanian rulers, but also one of the greatest heroes of Christianity, **Stephen the Great** (1457-1504). Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453 and the armies of Mohammed II were pushing west and northward victoriously. Stephen repulsed all their invasions as well as those of the Tartars attacking Moldavia from the East. In 1475 he won a victory over the armies of Mohammed at Podul Inalt, that has been considered the greatest victory against the Turk up to that time. In the years that followed he defeated one after another the Turkish armies, so that the Turks were forced to suspend all fighting against Moldavia. The Polish Chronicler Dlugosz proposed him as the head of a great Christian Crusade. Unfortunately the Christian rulers did not give Stephen

any help. They even attacked him. In 1467 he crushed at Baia the armies of the Hungarian King Mathews Corvin and annexed to Moldavia important parts of Transylvania; in 1497 he defeated the Polish King Jan Albert and annexed Pocutia (South-Eastern Galicia of today). During his life he had over 40 wars, out of which he lost only two.

But after his death Moldavia also fell under the Turkish sovereignty. It enjoyed a prosperity only under **Peter Raresh** (1527-1541) who in 1529 defeated the Austrian armies of Ferdinand and succeeded to unite again with Moldavia the greatest part of Transylvania.

During the XVIth and XVIIth centuries both Roumanian Principalities, although autonomous, were at the mercy of the Turkish Pashas and of their plundering armies fighting with the German Empire and the Polish Kingdom. The most luminous personality in all this painful epoch was **Michel the Brave**, (1593-1601) Prince of Wallachia. After destroying the Turkish forces in several battles even on the right bank of the Danube and crushing them entirely in the famous battle at Calugareni (1595) this extraordinary man in 1599 crossed the Carpathians, defeated the Hungarian armies, occupied Transylvania and in 1600 occupied also Moldavia, thus uniting for the first time since the epoch of Rome all the Roumanians under one rule and re-establishing the unity of Dacia. It was the hand of Austrian and Hungarian murderers that destroyed the great

14 THE ROUMANIAN QUESTION

dream of Union for which Roumanians were fighting since four centuries and for which they bled so tragically during the Great War of 1914-1918. Austrian and Hungarian mercenaries murdered Prince Michel in August 1601.

About 1700, when the Turkish power began to decline, the Roumanian principalities followed the Russian and incidentally the Austrian policy. The unfortunate result was that after the reverse of Czar Peter the Great at Stanilesti (1711) the Moldavian Prince **Demetrius Cantemir** (1710-1711) was forced to flee into Russia, the Wal-lachian Prince **Constantin Brancovan** (1688-1714) was taken to Constantinople and beheaded in 1714 together with his three sons and his son-in-law and the two countries began to be administered by princes appointed by the Sultans from among the Greeks of one of the Constantinople suburbs, the Phanar. This so-called **Phanariote Epoch** (1712-1821) forms the saddest and darkest part of the Roumanian history. The administration of these Greek tenants of the Roumanian thrones was nothing else but organized robbery.

During this epoch the Roumanians suffered two of the most painful losses. In 1775 after the second partition of Poland, Austria by tricky bribery toward the Turk and Russian leaders tore away Upper Moldavia, which she called afterward "Bucovina" and which contains many of the most sacred relics of the Roumanian national life.

In 1812 Russia followed the same example. By

bribing the Turkish delegates Mocrouzi and Ghalib Bey, she took half of Moldavia, the territory between the Pruth and the Dniester, which she called "Bessarabia" and which since its coming into history never was anything else than Moldavian-Roumanian soil.

The French Revolution threw a few waves even as far as the banks of the Danube and the Carpathians. In 1784 the Roumanians of Transylvania revolted against their oppressors and the revolutionary spirit and consciousness of national dignity in a short time seized all Roumanians. In 1821 under Tudor Vladimiresco the Roumanians of Wallachia revolted against their Greek rulers and the Moldavians joined in the movement. The Roumanians began in all three provinces, Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania, to demand also their union into a single state. The Turks in 1821 ceased to send Phanariote tenants into the principalities and appointed rulers from among the Roumanian nobility. The liberal ideas of the West as well as the bitterness against the too frequent Russian occupation led to a new revolution in 1848, when the Roumanians of Transylvania also revolted against their Hungarian oppressors. Europe listened to their grievances only after the Crimean War (1856), when she allowed the two countries an identical organization and even restored to Moldavia the Southern part of Bessarabia. In 1859 the two principalities united into modern "Roumania" and elected as ruler **Alexander Ion Cuza** (1859-1866), under

whose leadership the new united state made the most important reforms and the greatest steps towards modern European organization.

In 1886 Alexander Ion Cuza, in order to avoid internal complications, abdicated and a foreign Prince, **Charles** of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (1866-1914) was elected in his place. Through his mother he was also a relative of Napoleon III. In 1877-78 Roumania took part in the Russian-Turkish war and it is known that only through the efforts of the little Roumanian army the Russian forces were saved from being crushed at Plevna. Roumania won her independence, but it remained with a bitter feeling against Russia, which as gratitude for the valuable help on the battlefields took again Southern Bessarabia. In 1881 Roumania became a Kingdom.

In 1913, she took part in the Second Balkan War and obtained a rectification of her southern border in Dobrudja. Under the rule of King **Charles** and a group of great patriots as Cogalniceanu, Rossetti, Bratianu, Alexandri, Negri and others, Roumania in the last forty years became one of the most flourishing countries of Europe.

In 1914 King **Charles** died and the throne was ascended by his nephew, **Ferdinand**, **The Loyal** as the French called him on account of his attitude towards the cause of the Roumanian race and of mankind in the great war.

IV. Transylvania and the Banat.

The population which remained in Transylvania knew from the beginning of the XIIIth century

up to the present day all the horrors of slavery. On several occasions the Roumanians rebelled,—in 1320, 1437 and 1514,—but their revolutions failed every time in the face of the coalition of all the elements hostile to them. In 1437 the Hungarians, Saxons and the Hungarian Guards, the “Szeklers”, made a strong union, the famous “Unio trium nationum”, in order to hold the Roumanians under their domination.

Until 1526 Transylvania was still an autonomous principality under Hungarian sovereignty. From this time on up to 1691 Transylvania was absolutely independent and governed by native princes elected among the nobility. In 1691 Transylvania came under the rule of the Hapsburg emperors of Vienna, but still had its own autonomy and its own government.

The Hapsburg politicians immediately after the occupation of the Transylvanian Principality started their work to disintegrate the Roumanian unity and, according to the famous Hapsburg device “Divide et Impera”, to build a wall between the Roumanians of Transylvania and those of Wallachia and Moldavia. As the Roumanians were all following the Greek-Orthodox faith, Jesuit preachers and Hapsburg officials helped also by army forces began a very strong propaganda to convert the Transylvanian Roumanians to the Catholic church. And in 1700 a part of the Roumanian clergy, accepting the many privileges accorded and mostly promised to them, united with the Roman church, although still preserving

the Greek-Oriental service. This union however had very little influence upon the bulk of the Roumanian population. Moreover a great part of the clergy that accepted the general lines of the Catholic faith, by getting in close connection with Rome, were strengthened in the conviction of the Latin origin and unity of the Roumanian race and became the apostles of the union of all Roumanians into a single political State.

The ideas of the French Revolution marked also for the Roumanians in Transylvania a great intellectual activity. In 1784 the Roumanians revolted again, but their revolution was crushed by the Hungarians and the army of the Austrian Emperor, Joseph the IInd. The national claims were laid down in a petition addressed to the Emperor in 1791, the "Supplex Libellus Vallachorum", which was the basis of the Roumanian national policy in Transylvania up to the days of 1918. In 1848 the Roumanians again revolted against the Hungarian domination and especially against the Hungarian tendencies of uniting Transylvania with Hungary. On the 15th of May 1848 a large meeting was held at Blaj where 40,000 Roumanians participated. They drew up a new petition asserting the historical rights of the Roumanians to Transylvania and protesting against any union with Hungary, and soon organized legions to fight against the Hungarian regiments which tried to keep the whole of the country under Hungarian rule and to support the idea of the union of Transylvania with Hungary.

The Hungarian Revolution of 1848 is considered in many Western countries as a revolution of the liberal elements against Austrian autocracy. The truth is that the Hungarians wanted liberty only for their own people, but they were not willing to give the same liberties to the nationalities inhabiting the territory they were claiming as being a part of Hungary. The Hungarian Revolution was crushed and an epoch of better life followed for the Roumanians. In 1863 and 1864 autonomous concessions were made to the Roumanian people, who comprised more than two-thirds of the inhabitants of the country. Roumanian schools were opened and the Roumanian language recognized as official and on equal footing with the German and Hungarian languages.

But very soon the illusions of the Roumanians were dispelled. In 1859 the two Roumanian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia united and formed a single country full of new national spirit and especially anxious to unite under the same rule all the Roumanians. In 1860 and 1864 Austria was defeated in Italy and in the Prussian war. The Italian provinces formed a new strong Italy and the Hapsburg emperor and his politicians were afraid that the same thing would happen in the East of their monarchy and the United Roumanian principalities could become a new Piedmont. In an autonomous Transylvania where the Roumanian population was the majority, this population could very easily join the newly formed Roumania. In order to prevent

this natural course of events the Vienna politicians of the Hapsburgs decided to suspend every autonomy of this country and to unite it with Hungary. Thus the 3,000,000 Roumanians, who up to this date had to face the resistance of a few hundred thousand Hungarians, from this time on had against them the whole Hungarian race of Transylvania and of Hungary proper. In 1865 Vienna decided definitely the union of Transylvania with Hungary. But fear existed that the population and its representatives would vote against the union. Therefore the emperor Francis Joseph, and the Hungarian statesmen suspended the electoral law of 1863 which was more equitable to the Roumanians and ordered the new elections to be made on the basis of the electoral law of 1791 which gave them only **eighteen representatives out of three hundred seventy-seven** although the Roumanians were more than two-thirds of the population. The Roumanians protested with all their might, but the Diet voted the union and from this year on Transylvania was a slave to Hungarian ambitions.

Up to November 1918 the government of Budapest has repeated again and again its efforts to destroy the Roumanian nationality. The electoral legislation was made purposely to prevent the Roumanian voices from being heard. The suffrage system established in 1874 and based on taxation was contrived in such a fashion that in Hungary proper, which is inhabited by Hungarians, one thousand persons had fifty-eight voters,

while in Transylvania, which is inhabited by Roumanians, they had only thirty-three per thousand. Electoral rights have been given in Transylvania to all descendants of Hungarian nobility without considering their taxation; in 1872 out of 121,415 voters in Transylvania, 80,896 belonged to the Hungarian nobility. The electoral districts were grouped in such a way that out of 73 members granted to Transylvania only 22 could represent the Roumanian element, although as we said this element represented more than two-thirds of the inhabitants of the country. In 1914 Count Tisza made the system even more difficult by creating a law which made the right of suffrage of the non-Hungarians dependent on an examination they had to pass before Hungarian commissions. The way in which the elections were carried out in Hungary is also very well known. Mr. R. W. Seton-Watson, the best authority on late Austria-Hungary, in his book "Corruption and Reform in Hungary" gives an amazing picture of Hungarian electoral corruption. Count Tisza, Premier of Hungary, recognized openly in the Hungarian Parliament that at the last elections in 1910 he "only" used 194 battalions of infantry and 114 squadrons of Cavalry, besides the whole Police Force of the country, to "preserve order". Thus was made possible that in the last session of the Hungarian Parliament eight million Hungarians were represented by 404 Deputies while four million Roumanians were represented by five Deputies.

And this was not sufficient. Count Andrassy, the last Minister of Foreign Affairs of late Austria-Hungary, the man who in 1918 pledged to give liberal rights to the nationalities, in 1908 created a law, which fortunately was not passed, but which gave the right to vote only to those who spoke Hungarian, and it gave even two votes to those who had Hungarian high school education. And we must remember that out of the 20,000,000 inhabitants of Hungary of 1914, only 8,000,000 were Hungarians while 12,000,000 belonged to the other three nationalities, among whom almost 4,000,000 were Roumanians.

The school legislation has been even more harassing. Count Apponyi created in 1907 his famous Apponyi School Law which closed almost all the Roumanian schools, and left more than 600 Roumanian villages without any kind of school education. All the Roumanian schools, where the teaching of the Hungarian language was recognized by the Hungarian administration as "inadequate", were suppressed. In 1917 at last Count Apponyi decided to suppress all the Roumanian schools and so he closed 2975 primary schools and left the whole Roumanian territory in the clouds of the darkest illiteracy.

After the political and educational persecution came the religious persecution. The development of the Roumanian churches has been hampered by every means possible. In 1912 the Hungarian Government tried to place all the Greek Catholic Roumanians of Transylvania under the authority

of a Hungarian Bishop established at Hajdu Dorog, forbidding even the use of the Roumanian language in their churches.

The only way now left for the Roumanians to express their thoughts was the press. But the Hungarian authorities annihilated completely the independence of the Roumanian newspapers. In 1883 they even decided that all the Roumanian press trials have to be judged only by the jury of Klausenburg (Cluj) composed entirely out of the Hungarian population of this city. In 1892 the Roumanians addressed a Memorandum to the emperor, enumerating their grievances. The Hungarian Government made every effort to prevent the Roumanian deputation from being received by the emperor and immediately tried the signers of the Memorandum before the Court of Klausenburg, at the beginning of 1894. These signers were all prominent Roumanian leaders and nineteen men were condemned to thirty-four years of imprisonment. They were found guilty of "agitating against the Hungarian State." Between 1895 and 1913, the Roumanian leaders were condemned to an aggregation of 150 years of imprisonment and fines and expenses of half a million crowns.*

V. Bucovina.

Before 1775 the territory of modern Bucovina was known only as "Upper Moldavia". The

*1 crown — 1.05 French francs.

Austrian administration immediately after the tricky bargain of 1775 changed the name of the province and did everything possible to eliminate from the hearts of the population the consciousness that they were a part of Moldavia. The Roumanian church was crippled, its monasteries, founded by the Moldavian princes, were confiscated, its relations with the Moldavian archbishopric of Jassy were prohibited. The few Roumanian schools were closed and only German and Polish schools were allowed. The autonomous administration that was granted at the beginning of the occupation was suspended very soon and the whole province merged into the Galician administrative district of Lemberg.

Political oppression was accompanied also by Catholic persecution. A great many intellectuals were forced to leave their homes and to emigrate into Moldavia. It was only after the revolutionary movements of 1848, led in Bucovina by the Hurmuzaki family, that the Viennese policy allowed the Bucovinian Roumanians a little more freedom. But the same policy prevented by every means a union of the Roumanians of Bucovina with those of Transylvania in the years following the revolution of 1848. The old Austrian device, "divide et impera" was always vigorously applied by the Hapsburgs.

In order to annihilate Roumanian resistance, the Vienna Governments began in Upper Moldavia even before 1848 a strong colonization with foreign elements, Germans, Jews and especially

Ruthenians of Galicia. In 1775 there were in Bukovina only 15,000 Ruthenians against 85,000 Roumanians; in 1914 their number was about 300,000, almost equal to that of the Roumanians. Those who protested against this misbehaviour of the government were sent to jail or forced to flee into Roumania. In spite of this policy the ethnical character of the province of Bucovina remained entirely Roumanian. The intellectual forces of the country in the last twenty years not only succeeded in strengthening the national education and national consciousness, but together with the Roumanians of Transylvania, they preached and worked openly for the union of all Roumanians into a single political body, and especially for the return of Bucovina to her mother country.

VI. Bessarabia.

The fate of the Roumanians in Bessarabia was not less a tragical one. In 1812 by the treaty of Bukharest the Russians after bribing the two Turkish delegates, Morouzi and Ghalib Bey, took away from Moldavia the territory between the Dniester and the Pruth, which since that time has been called "Bessarabia." In 1856, after the Crimean war, the European Powers returned to Moldavia the Southern part of this territory. In 1859 Moldavia united with Wallachia and both formed the new Roumanian State. In 1877, in the Russian-Turkish war, Roumania became the Ally of Russia by a treaty, in which Russia

pledged herself to respect the "present" territorial integrity of Roumania, which naturally included also Southern Bessarabia. But as soon as the war was won with the help of the Roumanian troops, Russia again despoiled Roumania of her Bessarabian province. Vainly Roumania protested against this breach of faith, the Berlin Congress in 1878 allotted Bessarabia to Russia and only restored to Roumania her old province of Dobrudja lost to the Turks at the beginning of the XVth century.

From 1812 to 1917 the Roumanians of Bessarabia were subjected to the infamous oppression of Russian Czardom. At the beginning the Russians favored a fairly humane autonomous administration, but gradually they suppressed all Roumanian life in the province. In 1834 the Roumanian language was excluded from all the schools and courts and from the administration, although more than 80% of the population spoke only this tongue. Very soon the Roumanian was forbidden also as language of the divine services in the churches. The introduction of any kind of books or newspapers from Roumania was strictly prohibited. No newspaper, no book, not even a prayerbook was allowed to be printed in Roumanian on Bessarabian soil. The few intellectuals who tried to fight for the introduction of a more liberal administration were arrested and deported to Siberia.* Everywhere the Russian has been

*We quote among them only Professor Const. Stere, one of the leaders of Modern Roumanian Democracy.

ordered as the only language of the country, of the schools, of the courts, of the church. All methods, even deportation of whole villages and colonization with Russians or Ukrainians was employed in order to denationalize the overwhelming Roumanian majority. The attempt did not altogether succeed. Today in Bessarabia out of three million inhabitants over two millions are Roumanian. But the result was the deepest ignorance of the Roumanian population. Thanks to the Russian policy, only ten per cent of the men and one per cent of the women know how to read and write. And we are now in the Twentieth Century! This is why the eyes of the Roumanians of Bessarabia were turned with anxious expectation toward free Roumania, from where they, like their Transylvanian brothers, were hoping for their salvation.

VII. The Dawn.

The liberation of her oppressed kinsmen, especially of those of Transylvania, the Banat and Bucovina, was the aim of Roumania's entrance into the war on the side of the Allies in August 1916. She had no purposes of conquest; her fight was a fight for the liberty of the Roumanian race. History will record her part as one of the most heroical and most painful tragedies of the world. Betrayed first by the Russian Autocracy, then by the Russian Democracy, left without any help from any side, surrounded with enemies, attacked

in the face by the Teuton-Turanian forces and in the rear by the Russian Allies, who declared war upon her, after a desperate struggle of twenty months, she was forced to agree in March 1918 to a humiliating peace until the turn of the events allowed her, in November of the same year, to again enter the ranks. Her industry, railroads, bridges, cities have been destroyed. Her losses are almost 700,000 lives, a tenth of her population. The United States in the same proportion would lose 12 million people. But all these heavy sacrifices have not been made in vain. The aspirations to liberty of the Roumanian race have been fulfilled. Bessarabia as well as Transylvania, the Banat and Bucovina are today free and united with their mother country. The peace conference undoubtedly will give their liberty the final consecration. They are free by their own free will, by the unshakeable conviction and decision of their population.

The Roumanians of Transylvania, Banat and Bucovina expressed their will immediately after the war broke out. They did not want to fight for the oppressive Austria-Hungary. They surrendered and deserted to the Allies and as soon as they had the opportunity, they enlisted to fight the Central Powers. One hundred thousand Transylvanian-Roumanian volunteers with 1,500 officers have fought during the present war in the Roumanian armies. After Roumania was forced to conclude peace because of the Bolshevik treachery, the Transylvanian Roumanians,—who sur-

rendered to the Allies while fighting in the Austro-Hungarian army,—organized several legions to continue the war. A Roumanian legion of 18,000 men has been organized in Italy and a part of its units were fighting on the Italian front. Another legion composed of Transylvanian Roumanian volunteers has been organized in France and a third one has been organized in far away Siberia and its four regiments were advancing shoulder to shoulder with the other allied troops towards the Ural mountains. More than 15,000 Transylvanian Roumanians volunteered for a fourth legion in the United States. All this is history. The heroic position taken by all these volunteers, who if captured by Austro-Hungarians were always condemned to death, proves evidently the desperate situation the Roumanians had to endure under the combined oppression of the Hungarians and Austro-Germans.

The last war that can be called the "War of Liberty" has caused the downfall of all the empires of oppression without consideration on which side they were fighting. For the Roumanians the downfall of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian autocracies was of special importance. The first was overthrown by the Revolution, the second by the Victory of the Allies.

After the Russian Revolution, in November 1917 Bessarabia declared her independence and a few months later, on April 9th, 1918, by her diet, elected on the basis of universal suffrage for men and women equally, she decided to be reincor-

porated with her mother country, the Roumanian Kingdom.

By the great Allied victories on the Balkan and Italian fronts Austria-Hungary also has been crushed. The emperor after concluding the armistice disbanded his army, ordering his soldiers to go home and to submit to their local National Councils. Even emperor Charles was convinced that such an unnatural empire as Austria-Hungary, composed of fragments of nations without any common feeling and cohesion, could no longer exist. Vainly Count Karolyi and his Hungarian associates tried to play Republic in order to save the nationalities and especially the Roumanians for the good old Hungarian exploitation. The Roumanians of Bucovina freed from any foreign rule decided on November 28th, 1918 to re-unite with their mother country, Roumania. The Roumanians of Transylvania and of the Banat organized a National Council acting as Provisional Government, demanded their complete freedom from Hungarian rule, and on December 1st, by their National Assembly held at Alba Iulia decided to join definitely, without conditions, their brothers of the Roumanian Kingdom. On January 8th, 1919 even the German population of the former Austro-Hungarian territory, the so-called Transylvanian Saxons, in their National Assembly of Mediash decided to join Roumania and a deputation presented this decision to the King and the Government of Bucarest.

VIII. The Final Settlement.

There is no doubt all the Roumanian provinces, Bessarabia, as well as Transylvania, Bucovina and the Banat, will be united with Roumania, forming thus the new Roumania of the future, the most important country of Eastern Europe. Certainly the basis of this arrangement has to be the generally adopted principle of nationalities; those speaking Roumanian have to be united under Roumanian rule. Geographic situations however impose all nations neighboring on each other to make mutual concessions in establishing their definite border lines. Wherever it is possible the natural boundaries have to be preferred to the conventional ones. Thus Roumania has to renounce her 500-600,000 kinsmen beyond the Dniester in the Ukraine, and the Ukraine has to renounce her 200,000 Ukrainians in Southern Bessarabia, in order to have again the old natural border line of the powerful Dniester River. In the same way has to be settled the question of the border between Roumania and Serbia. Concessions have to be made from both sides. The Danube and the lower Tisa are the most natural boundaries. On their right bank is Serbia, on their left bank is the Banat claimed by the Roumanians and attributed to them by Roumania's treaty with the Allies. Now in the Banat after the Hungarian statistics of 1910 there are 600,000 Roumanians and 280,000 Serbians, and consequently the Serbians claim a part of it, although they have major-

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